3s Mukherjea O. Y-4, 5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
AW42 Santal AW42

595 (3) Hirom Cetan Bapla.

Although tribal custom generally favours monogamous marriages, a fairly large number of Santals in Mayurbhanj have a number of lesser wives. This form is called as *Hirom Cetan Bapla*, which means 'a union while a co-wife exists'. The first wife is known as *Bòtki*, while the second passes on as *Chutki*. That this form often degenerates into mere concubinage will be apparent from the fact that they are popularly termed "Rakhni Priya" in Mayurbhanj, which means a mistress additionally maintained. These wives are allowed all the privileges of wives. And when they die, the husband applies vermilion on their forehead, thus legitimising them finally.

Conclusion

585 Marriage amongst the Santals serves as the
885 stepping stone to the adult life of the tribesman.
182 Apart from the biological aspect of the increase to the population and thereby to the strength of the tribe, it makes a young Santal a full-fledged member of the community, endowed with all the rights and duties of the adult. On the economic side, the
585 Santal now gets a partner in life on payment of a
182 price; and in its social aspect, it means the beginning of a new family, a further source of strength to the clan and then to the tribe.